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The author surveys the problems of bilingual and bicultural tensions in Canada, Cyprus, Switzerland, Italy, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Classification of bilingualism is proposed to show: two official languages; semi-official and official languages; unofficial and official languages; official and national languages. Examples of national language patterns are given showing the number of official languages and types of unilingual, bilingual, and multilingual speakers. "Cultural accents" result from interference of conflicting cultural patterns, and bilingualism and biculturalism do not necessarily coincide. In examining the correlation between phonology, morphology, or syntax and biculturalism, linguists will need to work with the other social sciences. "Cultures in contact" is a more comprehensive term than "acculturation." Such cultures can be classified as "enclavic," symbiotic," and "mixed." The author suggests a distinction between individual and community contacts, diachronic and synchronic approaches, and presents a formula, similar to a linguistic formula, for comparison of cultures in contact. (MK)

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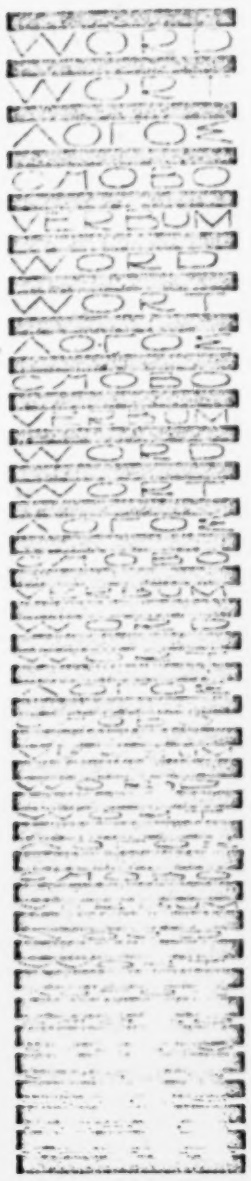

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FORMULAS IN BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

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Before I proceed with the presentation of my "formulas", I would like to say that the problem itself is not confined to Canadian boundaries

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and Canadian reality only, although there is an assumption that "bilingualism" and "biculturalism" are Canadian inventions of 1960's. A glance at some European, Asian and African countries shows that such problems exist and are actually global in scope. Some of these problems are even more explosive than in Quebec. Based on cultural, economic, political and other differences between ethnic groups, they erupt from time to time - even with violence.

The recent civil war in Cyprus could be cited as an extreme case of inter-ethnic tensions. Less well known, however, are events in Switzerland and northern Italy, which I had the occasion to visit in the summers of 1964 and 1965.

For instance Switzerland: traditionally peaceful and neutral as it may seem this country has also its bilingual and bicultural tensions, namely in the canton of Bern. Here, Franco-German antagonism troubles the harmonious relations of the four ethnic groups. As is known, a nation of 5.5 million people, Switzerland has three official Languages: German, French and Italian. In 1938, Romansh (Rheto-Romance) was ceremoniously proclaimed a fourth "national" (non-official) language of the Swiss people.

The Southern, French part of the canton of Bern is actively opposed to the German majority in this area and is striving for a separate canton in the Swiss confederation. This action is commonly known as "jura-separatism." Without going into details, it should be stated that there is a general feeling in the French minority of that canton that a separate cultural administrative and political unity should be formed and that the solution of the problem should be peaceful.

Not so peaceful seems to be the situation in southern Tirol-Alto Adige in northern Italy. Since 1945, the German-speaking majority of this area has been waiting for a linguistic and cultural autonomy and, disappointed by the actual state of things, began in its extremist circles to revolt against the Italian rule in that area. After a wave of sabotage acts, carried out on bridges, railroads and public buildings, mainly in 1961, the climax came in 1964 when actual fighting with firearms began with victims on both sides, (Italian soldiers and Louis Amplatz, one of the south Tirolian leaders). Despite efforts of foreign ministers of Austria and Italy, the problem has not been settled as yet.

As mentioned before, there are bilingual and bicultural problems elsewhere on our globe - in Asia, Africa and the Americas. And naturally,

the question arises what precisely is the meaning of "bilingualism and biculturalism?" Dictionaries do not adequately provide an answer to this question. Most of them list only the term "bilingualism" which, according, e.g. to the American College Dictionary is defined as: (1) "The habitual use of two languages" and (2) "The ability of being bilingual." The Oxford Dictionary defines it similarly. There is no dictionary to my knowledge - listing the term "biculturalism," although it appeared more than a decade ago in the English usage. Let us turn to special works on language and culture. The linguistic research considers bilingualism as one of the aspects of "languages in contact", the term coined by André Martinet and popularized by Uriel Weinreich and Einar Haugen. Language contact is defined as "the alternate use of two or more languages by the same persons" and such persons are called "bilinguals." With reference to constitutional recognition of languages, the following typology of bilingualism might be presented:

1) oBL
2) $\frac{s}{o}$ BL
3) $\frac{u}{o}$ BL *
4) marginal Swiss $\frac{o}{n}$ BL

In the USA there is only one official language, American English, and there are several types of semi-official bilingualism, e.g. AmE - Spanish, AmE - Italian, AmE - Polish, AmE - Chinese, AmE - Swedish, AmE - Greek, etc. To be sure, there are cases of non-official bilingualism; it means the cases where an individual uses two unofficial languages without knowledge of the AmE. I noticed in New York e.g. the existence of German-Russian bilinguals, Ukrainian-Polish, Yiddish-Czech, etc. But these are marginal cases and they refer exclusively to the older generation of recent newcomers. As a result, we can present the following formula of the USA linguistic pattern:

$$\text{US lp.} = \frac{o\ UL}{\frac{s}{o}\ BL + \frac{u}{o}\ BL + \frac{u}{o}\ UL}$$

Another situation exists in Canada. Here we have two official languages - English and French and several languages spoken as mother tongues throughout the country. Taking into account the unilingual and bilingual situations, the following formula of the Canadian linguistic pattern might be presented:

*) See key to abbreviations at end of article.

$$\text{C lp.} = \frac{o\,BL + o\,UL}{\overset{s}{o}\,BL + \overset{u}{o}\,BL + \overset{u}{o}\,UL}$$

Very interesting, from this point of view, is the situation in Belgium: Here we have the following formula since 1964:

$$\text{B lp.} = o\,UL_1 + o\,UL_2 + o\,BL\,(r)$$

More complicated is the situation in Switzerland:

$$\text{Sw lp.} = \frac{o\,ML + o\,BL + \overset{o}{n}\,BL}{\overset{o}{n}\,UL_1 + \overset{o}{n}\,UL_2 + \overset{o}{n}\,UL_3 + n\,UL}$$

A similar complicated pattern exists in Yugoslavia:

$$\text{Y lp.} = \frac{o\,ML + o\,BL}{o\,UL_1 + o\,UL_2 + o\,UL_3 + UL_4 + \overset{s}{o}\,BL}$$

With its more and more advanced theory of "two mother tongues": Russian in addition to native tongues, the Soviet linguistic pattern might be presented as follows:

$$\text{S lp.} = \frac{o\,UL + o\,BL + o\,ML}{o\,UL_1 + o\,UL_2 + o\,UL_3 + \overset{u}{o}\,UL + \overset{u}{o}\,BL}$$

Further psychological and sociological research is badly needed as far as bilingual individuals and bilingual communities are concerned. As E. Haugen states, "the linguistic and cultural aspects are often confused, both by linguists and social scientists." This point is made by James Soffietti in Journal of Educational Psychology 46, 222-7, 1955: he distinguishes between bilingualism and biculturalism.**) In view of the fact that different languages can be used in the same culture and the same language in different cultures,

**) To our knowledge, it is the first time the term "biculturalism" was used in scholarly literature.

he suggests that bilingualism and biculturalism do not necessarily coincide. Just as there are linguistic accents there are cultural accents, resulting from the interference of conflicting habit patterns, and they may be just as hard (or undesirable) to get rid of as the former. It is therefore possible to distinguish four situations: (1) bicultural-bilingual; (2) bicultural-monolingual; (3) monocultural-bilingual; (4) monocultural-monolingual. 'A person learning a second language in a monocultural setting will not automatically learn a whole new set of cultural patterns" (225).

This phenomenon was observed by Haugen also in his study of Norwegians in America: "a bilingual speaker of English and Norwegian in America is not necessarily bicultural. His very use of loanwords from English is governed by an effort to bring his old language into line with the new culture; after the process is completed, he may switch from one language to the other without talking about different things, or feeling himself as culturally distinct from his monolingual neighbors" (Norwegian Language in America p.72).

According to Haugen, just as the bilingual may have less than two complete languages, so the bicultural may have less than two complete cultures. While it is an easy assumption to make that the degree of bilinguality is directly correlated to the degree of biculturalism, this cannot be sustained on the present evidence. Since lexicon is the index of culture, and in its totality presumably can describe the culture, we would expect the greatest correlation to be here: the lexicon expresses the meanings, which are the culture. But the correlation of the more purely linguistic and structural parts of language with culture is indirect, and therefore less responsive to cultural change. The extent to which phonology, morphology, or syntax reflect biculturalism is a point, on which further research is necessary. Linguists will find it helpful here to create liaison areas between themselves and the social sciences, fields which in America have been called by such pretentious but often useful names as "metalinguistics," "psycholinguistics," "ethnolinguistics," "glottopolitics," and the like. Some of the problems raised in connection with bilingualism will prove to be almost entirely problems of biculturalism, involving attitudes to the people who speak the languages rather than the languages themselves.

An illustration of how these fields can play into one another and mutually contribute to the solution of bilingual problems is afforded by research on the linguistic conditions of North and South America. As presented in Haugen's Bilingualism in the Americas, one finds in this area

four kinds of languages involved in contact situations: native, colonial, immigrant and creolized. The native languages are the numerous Indian and Eskimo languages; the most important colonial are English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish; the immigrant languages include these and innumerable other languages, especially from Europe; the creolized languages arose in response to the introduction of slavery by the colonizing powers in certain areas, above all the Caribbean.

The mutual relations of these languages have awakened a good deal of scholarly interest in recent years, though there is still much to be done in what has probably been the most interesting laboratory of bilingual experience in recent history. The social dominance of some languages at the expense of others is to be explained by political conditions; for information about these we must turn to historians and political scientists. Politically submerged groups have found their languages threatened with extinction; only a strong cultural resistance has reversed this trend, as in the case of the French Canadians. In areas of linguistic overlapping the establishment of educational systems will raise certain language problems; these have been especially acute in the southwestern states of the United States, where Spanish, Indian, and English have lived side by side for a long time. Educators have produced a vast literature, showing frequently all too little insight into the linguistic problems involved, but still instructive for the material collected concerning cultural and linguistic interference in formal school situations. Here one may point to an interesting UNESCO report on The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education (1953) with brief statements for most of the countries of the world.

In following the linguistic research in this field, I ventured at international congresses in Bolzano in 1964 and in Vienna in 1965 to introduce the term "cultures in contact" as a broader concept of "acculturation", "cultural interpenetration", "assimilation", "integration", etc. Let me conclude with the following resumé of my "intervention" at this year's International Congress of Historians in Vienna during the rather exciting and stimulating discussion of the main topic "acculturation" on August 29th:

1. The term "acculturation" is inadequate and, therefore misleading. Among others, it implies the notion of "superior" and "inferior", "dominant", and "dominated" cultures. Though, in some cases, in the history of world cultures one has to deal with relationship between such cultures, there are several other cases of cultural intercourse which are not covered by the above

term. Therefore, the author suggests the term "cultures in contact" which - in his opinion - exhausts all possible phenomena in this respect.

2. With reference to his previous papers on the subject, the author presents the following typology of "cultures in contact":

a) enclavic cultures (Ec),
b) symbiotic (co-existent) cultures (Sc),
c) mixed (hybridized) cultures (Mc).

3. As further methodological postulates, the author suggests the distinction of individual and community contacts, diachronic and synchronic approach in the research, universality of basic principles, etc.

4. In conclusion, the author presents the following working formula (model) of study of the problem of "cultures in contact":

$$Cc = \frac{Ec : Sc : Mc}{T}$$

where types of cultures indicate their relationship to technological civilization.

ABBREVIATIONS

BL	-	Bilingualism	o	-	official
Cc	-	Cultures in contact	r	-	restricted
Ec	-	Enclavic cultures	so	-	semi-official
lp	-	language pattern	Sc	-	Symbiotic cultures
Mc	-	Mixed cultures	T	-	Technological civilization
ML	-	Multilingualism	UL	-	Unilingualism
n	-	national	u	-	unofficial